

/216 cont. /

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of
the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic
classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and
classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language
groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither
archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska)
of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic
recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the
lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise
spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in transla-
tions, often said the same sentence entirely differently when re-
peating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way.
When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer
was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak."
Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the
unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only
two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon
and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

● 194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collec-
tion of ethnological data, the following word list was also made
with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Pinakué.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which
includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are
the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

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● 194 transcription of Paez words we departed from the Spanish spelling
104 and used the following alphabet:

·	"glottal stop," as in the German <u>ab'ändern</u>	ě (ə)	centralized e, as in German <u>gern</u>
~	nasal vowel	ei	not a diphthong, e+i as in the Paez <u>nei</u> (father), without "glottal stop"
a	short a, as in the German <u>Ball</u>	f	dentilabial, as in the German <u>fein</u>
ā	long a, as in the German <u>schmal</u>	g	always voiced; as in the German <u>gut</u> , English "pig"
ai	not a diphthong, a+i as in the Paez <u>áime</u> (star), without "glottal stop"	gw	g with the English w
b	always voiced, as in the German <u>Baum</u>	gy	palatalized g
bw	b with the English w	h	strong h, between h and the ch in German <u>ach</u>
by	palatalized b	hw	h with the English w
č	Spanish or English ch, German <u>tsch</u>	hy	palatalized h
* čy	palatalized č	i	short i, as in the German <u>wie</u> , but short
č	dental ch sound, as in the German <u>ich</u>	I	long i, as in the German <u>nie</u>
d	always voiced, as in the German <u>dumm</u> , English "and"	k	not aspirated, as in the German
dy	palatalized d	kw	k with the English w
/218/		ky	palatalized k
e	closed e, as in the German <u>Schnee</u> , but short	l	as in the German <u>laufen</u> ; used in place of r in loanwords from the Spanish
ē	closed e, as in the German <u>Schnee</u>	ly	palatalized l
e	open e, as in the German <u>wenn</u> , <u>hätte</u>	m	as in the German <u>mein</u>
ē	open, long e, as in the German <u>Schäfer</u>		

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194	mw	m with the English w	ts	like the z in the German
104	my	palatalized m		<u>zwei</u>
	n	as in the German <u>nur</u>	tw	t with the English w
	nw	n and the English w	ty	palatalized t
	ny	like the Spanish ñ,	u	as in the German
		French gn		<u>gut</u> ; often difficult
	ñ	velar n, like ng in the		to distinguish from o
		German <u>singen</u>	v	dentilabial v, as in the
	ñw	ñ and the English w		German <u>warm</u>
	ny	palatalized ñ	vy	palatalized v
	o	short, closed o, not	w	semivowel, like the
		identified more pre-		English w
		cisely	y	semivowel, as in the
	o	open o, not identified		English "York"
		more precisely	z	voiced s, as in the
	õ	long, closed o, as in the		German <u>Rose</u>
		German <u>Not</u>	zy	palatalized z
	oi	not a diphthong, o+i as		
		in the Paez <u>õi</u> (woman),		
		without "glottal stop"		
	p	without aspiration, as in		
		the German "Paul"		
	pw	p with the English w		
	py	palatalized p		
	r	only rarely in Spanish		
		words where <u>l</u> is not		
		spoken in place of it		
	s	always voiceless, as in		
		the German <u>lassen</u>		
	sy	palatalized s		
	š	sch as in the German		
		<u>schon</u>		
	šw	s with the English w		
	šy	palatalized š		
	t	without aspiration, as		
		in the German <u>Ton</u>		

The consonants and semivowels in Paez are the following:

	Plosive		Fricative		Affricate		Liquid	Nasal	Semi-vowel
	fort	lene	fort	lene	fort	lene			
Aspirate				h					
Velars " (palatal)	k ky	g gy						ŋ	
Palatals	ty	dy	hy ç		č čy		ly	ŋg ny-ñ	y
Alveolars " (palatal)	t	d	s sy	z zy	ts		l	n	
Alveolars with hushing sound " (palatal)			ʃ ʃy						
Labiodentals " (palatal)			f	v vy					
Bilabials (palatal)	p py	p by						m my	w

The vowels are the following:

a, ā, ai, e, ē, e, ē, ě (=ə), ei, i, ī, (o), o, ō, oi, u.

The pronunciation of "o" and "u" was not observed accurately enough; similarly, the pronunciation of "o" and "u" varied among different persons and was difficult to distinguish. "Ai," "ei," and "oi" are not diphthongs, but are pronounced separately, but without any "glottal stop." The pronunciation of "ty" and "ky" is not always unequivocal, for example, tyita, "weaving sword." In front of some words beginning with "b" one can hear an "m," for example, in bāts (mbāts), "agave fiber." Also, in the case of Spanish loanwords beginning with "b," an "m" is popularly put in front of them. Thus, mbē! instead of vēa! was always said by the Spanish-speaking Paez. The original Paez alphabet contains no "r"; in Spanish loanwords "l" is used instead, for example, trapiče = lapiče, horno = olno, nuestro Señor Jesucristo = neustlo Senyol Hesuklisto. Difficulties /220/ are caused by a number of words which to the stranger seem to sound exactly

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- 194 alike at first, but in reality differ -- aside from context -- in minimal nasal differences in pronunciation. Thus, for example, atc means "I," "today," "ruana," and "digging stick."

Stress is indicated by an accent (´) or by a circumflex. Words without a mark for stress are stressed on the penultimate syllable. An accent (´) between a vowel and the following consonant has sound value and indicates a "glottal stop" (glottal catch).

b) Grammar

- 193 The substantive: There is no article. Gender is not distinguished in words for things and plants. In the case of human beings and animals such a distinction occurs only in exceptional cases, for the terminology for human beings with respect to sex and age or circumstances is so rich in special words that special designations for the sex in general are not required (cf. the kinship nomenclature in the section "Family Organization"). The distinction is not only so exact with respect to human beings, but even maize, for example, is designated by entirely different words, depending on whether it is ripe or still green (kotc or tsot). If a more precise distinction is nevertheless required, the suffixes -pits (man) for the male sex and -oi (woman for the female sex are used, for example, éčpits, "widower," éčoi, "widow." In general, however, these are artificial distinctions which are used primarily for loanwords. In this case one proceeds from the general or typical. Thus, átaly is the "chicken," and it is the rooster that is singled out and distinguished from the chicken by the suffix -pits (átalyepítste). "Horse" is regarded as general and is designated as hímba; the special distinctions are himbapítste, "stallion," and himbaoite, "mare." Moreover, the word lečkwe (child) is added as a suffix to designate small living creatures or small things, for example, luč, "child," lučléčkwe "small child"; hímba, "horse," himbalečkwe, "foal"; átaly, "chicken," átalyeléčkwe, "little chicken"; yat, "house," yatléčkwe, "small

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105 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings
 771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
 756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which
 are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper
 against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is
 not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism.
 Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only
 rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and
 the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom
 of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Never-
 theless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and
 helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his
 function as sociological crystallization point of the community,
 is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages,
 [197] in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize
 [194] whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including
 all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of
 nasal vowels.

105 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since
 114 the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as
 197 one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E.
 Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical
 structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C.
 Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language
 (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the re-
 lationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construc-
 tion; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in
 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages
 in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the
 Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Ecuador. According to this,
 the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198).
 Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater
 detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the
 philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the
 problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

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I. — PHONETICS

Vowels

a	a	a
e	e	e
i	i	i
ä	ä	ä

Consonants

k	k	k
g	g	g
t	t	t
d	d	d
s	s	s
h	h	h
m	m	m

194 In his introduction to Castillo's vocabularies, Uricoechea asserts, on the faith of the latter, that the Paez vowels are numerous, distinct from those of the Spanish language, and difficult of pronunciation. The Castilian language has only the five fundamental Latin vowels, while the Paez has three more, *ä*, *ö*, and *ü*, not including the nasalized vowels, which are not specifically distinct.

194 This can scarcely be called rich, but if by richness Uricoechea means euphony, then he is certainly correct. Indeed, the diphthongs *ai*, *eu*, *io*, *ua*, *ur*, *ui*, *uo*, recur with extreme frequency, and there are none of the half-mute vowels so often met with in the dialects of the Chibchan group. Again, it cannot be said that the Paez, in its present phonetics, offers any serious difficulty to the student so far as pronunciation is concerned. I have given careful attention to this special question, and think that the above table of vowels and consonants is fairly adequate to an exact transcription of the language.

When we come to the comparison of consonants we find that the Paez has all the consonants used in classical Castilian except the *z* (*ð*, English *th*), and that it has *ç*, *ß*, *dʒ*, *ʒ*, *ʃ*, and *ʒ* in addition. Here we may be justified in speaking of abundance, inasmuch as these fundamental consonants are accompanied by quite a formidable array of compound ones, either

initial like *hl*, *ft*, *kh*, *kl*, *kx*, *kp*, *kz*, *kt*, *mh*, *pt*, *pl*, *pj*, *pt*, *it*, *tsk*, 194
or terminal like *fx*, *kx*, *px*, *mh*, *uj*, *ut*.

A further comparison of Castillo's material with my own 194
shows three chief points of divergence in the transcription of 114
words. One of them, namely, the prefixing of an initial *g* to
words beginning with *na* or *ne*, is general among Spanish
authors, there being as much difficulty for a Spaniard to pro-
nounce correctly that broad diphthong as to express any foreign
word beginning in *st*, *sp*, etc., without an initial *c*. Just as a
Spaniard will say 'estreet,' 'esprout,' 'estyle,' he is sure to
pronounce 'gwatchman,' if not 'gwatchimán,' 'gwarbler,' and
so on. This misspelling, then, may be regarded as an idiosyn-
crasy of our author.

A second difference, often repeated and which must be con-
sidered as an error in the reproduction of the original text, is
that the words ending in my vocabulary in *ts*, *fx*, *kx*, etc., end
respectively in *ti*, *fi*, *ki*, etc., in Castillo's vocabulary, the terminal
s and *x* having almost uniformly been mistaken for an *i*. Ex-
amples:

<i>efi</i>	for <i>efx</i> ,	eye-tooth.
<i>oqui</i>	" <i>okx</i> ,	fuel.
<i>caf</i>	" <i>kafx</i> ,	gargante de.
<i>cati</i>	" <i>kats</i> ,	hide, skin, peel.
<i>conchi</i>	" <i>kumts</i> ,	black.
<i>miti</i>	" <i>milt</i> or <i>milt</i> ,	pot.
<i>tambi</i>	" <i>tampx</i> ,	flank.

[192]

Unwritten languages are subject to rapid alteration. This
is sufficient to explain the frequent change of *o* to *a*, and the
suppression of the initials *a*, *c*, and *i*, in certain words. Follow-
ing are a few examples of both cases:

<i>doj</i>	has become <i>dux</i> ,	weight.
<i>rito</i>	" " <i>fxu</i> ,	tree.
<i>gnaco</i>	" " <i>uakv</i> ,	tick.
<i>owza</i>	" " <i>hwnza</i> ,	mouse.
<i>ioe</i>	" " <i>iuk</i> ,	wood, fuel.
<i>aloch</i>	is now <i>luti</i> ,	child.
<i>alavoch</i>	" " <i>laweti</i> ,	lizard.

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● 194	<i>opench</i>	is now	<i>peni</i> ,	old (applied to female only).
114	<i>itos</i>	" "	<i>sus</i> ,	urine.
[192]	<i>atamp</i>	" "	<i>taup</i> ,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *is* stands for *i*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *ts*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mís-a*, it is not; *izhe* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — WORD-FORMATION

192 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary
114 given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only
words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true
especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made
when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of
words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's
114 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.

192 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have
197 simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names.
174 But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expres-
sions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that
the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of
several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies,
and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey
of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not
even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated,
it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic
testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples
of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the
vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differ-
ences noted.

193 *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the
114 languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indica-
[171] tive of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole
classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaus-
tive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always